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Such sentiments have characterized the work that has been done by your government and through your diplomatic agents in China.

The Chinese students in the United States are living evidences that the wise use of the Chinese indemnity you returned is linking year by year a closer tie between the two nations. Chinese students and Chinese girls come in here and associate with your young men and with your young ladies and knit together a friendship that cannot be separated even by death; because when they grow up and they have children, those traditions will be carried on from generation to generation and for thousands of years to come.

Then, during the Boxer Movement, your General Chaffee in command there remonstrated with the Germans for looting our astronomical instruments and, by a mysterious fate, these instruments were returned to Peking and are set up now on the walls in the original places from which they were taken. If you happen to be in China and if I should know, ask me to be

your guide and I shall be glad to show you these ancient things.

Again, you invited us to the Disarmament Conference in this country. No other nation would have invited a weak power, in a military sense, like China to come; but you have brought her to restore to her what you think is her due. And you have got the powers cornered. You have asked the members who come here, "To whom does this belong?" and the owner says, "To me"; and again you ask, "To whom does this belong?" and the owner says, "To me"; and in some things the owner has been willing to pay. But, ladies and gentlemen, imagine the other party saying, "We want to be friends of China. We want to get a fifty per cent share of the interest. You can't pay it back." That is a beautiful theory of friendship, which I cannot understand.

Years ago your immortal Lincoln adjusted the color line between the white and the black; and now your enlightened government is adjusting the color line between the yellow and the yellow.

## The Future of Chinese Democracy

By DR. SAO-KE ALFRED SZE

Chinese Minister to the United States

TO some Western observers the Republic of China seems to be still tossed in an unceasing storm. To them, the temporary presence of the militarists and the small differences between Canton and the central government appear to be symptoms of some greater evil that is to come. Some doubt whether the Chinese people have the real capacity for self-government and whether China is, after all, qualified to enjoy the blessings of de-

mocracy; others attribute the present seeming unrest and turmoil to the corruption of officialdom and advocate foreign supervision as a panacea; a few would try to indoctrinate our countrymen with Bolshevik ideas and point to them as a remedy; still others think that the trouble with China is the lack of a strong central government and that all will be well if this is established; and still others maintain that what China needs at present is

not a strong central government but a federal state. A veritable Babel of confusion! Of course there are many who have faith and hope in the ultimate triumph of democracy in China and who believe that the forces for good will eventually gain ascendancy. But even with them faith seems to take the place of intellectual conviction and hope appears to lack intellectual assurance. In other words, they do not seem to know that the present unrest and disturbance is only apparent, not real and fundamental; that the pains which China is experiencing are pains of growth, not pains of senility, and that what little evil she has at present is essential to the greater good she will achieve in the near future. There is, in fact, no ground for discouragement and pessimism, and we can rest assured that China will be a real champion of democracy.

As I see it, the troubles China has been having for the last few years are all due to China's attempt to adjust her social democracy to the political democracy of the West. This adjustment is a gigantic experiment and it is small wonder that friction and discord have at times occurred. For social democracy and political democracy differ widely, both in origin and in moral principle. Social democracy first comes into existence in communities where there is general competence and no marked personal eminence; where there is no aristocracy and no caste, but, instead, an intelligent readiness to lend a hand and to do in unison whatever is to be done, by a kind of conspiring instinct and contagious sympathy. In such a community democracy is a spirit, a mental attitude, a disposition of the mind, and the machinery of government is not present, or, if present, not perceived. We might consider such a community as having the most democratic government, for everything

there is naturally democratic and there is no governmental machinery at all.

#### ATTEMPT TO ADJUST SOCIAL TO POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

Political democracy, however, comes into existence later in time. Unlike social democracy it is not natural, but artificial. It arises by a gradual broadening of aristocratic privileges, through rebellion against abuses, and in answer to restlessness on the people's part. It is necessitated by the complexity of modern civilization and the rise of different classes; it is compatible with a very complex government and an aristocratic society. It is an attempt at the harmonization of the different interests of the different parties or groups of people. Unlike social democracy, which is a general ethical ideal, looking to human equality and brotherhood, democratic government is merely a means to an end and an expedient for the better and smoother government of certain states at certain junctures. It involves no special ideals of life. It is a question of policy: namely, whether the general interest will be better served by the harmonization of special interests as is shown in Rousseau's conception of the general will. Thus political democracy is concerned more with the machinery of government and in that respect differs greatly from social democracy. Social democracy is ethical socialism, whereas political democracy is ethical individualism.

Now the Chinese democracy is a social democracy. Ever since the dawn of Chinese history, the predominating political theory and the actual practice have always involved the elimination of governmental machinery. Confucius, as well as Laotze, maintained the same position. Indeed, the absence of governmental machinery and the comparative absence of governmental in-

terference have been testified by all the eminent writers of China so that it is unnecessary for me to multiply proofs and examples.

But social democracy is possible only in a civilization that is not complex, in a civilization that has no castes, no aristocracy. In such a civilization, complicated machinery is a burden and out of place. The spirit of love can harmonize whatever diversities and differences there may exist. Now the Chinese civilization, as a result of contact with the West, has become more complex and the interests of the people have become diversified. As yet class consciousness is not distinct and marked in China. But there is no longer that old unity of desire, that unity of aspiration, and that unity of taste. Of course, it is not necessary, nor is it wise, for China to part with her social democracy, which is too precious to be discarded, but the Chinese social democracy has got to make use of the political machinery of the West, the excellent technique of organization, so as to meet the demands of the hour. China, however, must humanize the machinery so taken over and this process of humanizing the machinery, this process of adjusting the political machinery to social democracy, of reconciling the alien form to the indigenous spirit, is a long process and a difficult one. It is not, therefore, that the Chinese people are incapable of self-government. Rather are the Chinese people not used to machinery, which to them is strange. Once the machinery is mastered, once the native spirit and the alien form are fused and well blended, there will arise a splendid example of modern democracy in Asia.

For China is determined not to be enslaved by the machinery of government, and will not rely for the final success of democracy solely upon that nice balancing and harmonizing of

private conflicting interests which the utilitarian school so enthusiastically preached. On the other hand, China will try to avert the dangers of materialistic democracy—eccentricity and dull uniformity. China will try to secure in art and literature that quality of distinction which Matthew Arnold finds lacking in democratic countries. At the same time, China will try in all the spheres of human activity to secure a real standard, which is also lamentably absent in other democratic countries. China is trying to have distinction, not eccentricity; real standards, not dull uniformity. And to attain these ends China will, in conformity to a tradition, give everyone an equal chance. For people may be born equal, but they will grow unequal and the only equality subsisting will be equality of opportunity. China will thus attempt to remedy such drawbacks of democratic government as the great critics like James Bryce and James Russell Lowell have pointed out.

These statements are not vague generalities, for they are abundantly borne out by facts. Of the five presidents of the Chinese Republic, four have come from humble families and most of the men who are guiding the destiny of China are from the common people. And, as an antidote against the tendency to overmaterialization, China is making every effort to promote her higher education, as is evidenced in the establishment of the Peking Government University and the Southeastern University and other similar educational institutions. This leads me to the second point of which I wish to speak—the adjustment of new ideas to old.

#### ADJUSTMENT OF NEW IDEAS TO OLD

The confusion that prevails in China is, as I have said, due to China's attempt to adjust her indigenous social

democracy to the political democracy of the West. But it is also due to China's attempt to adjust old ideas to new ideas. After her serene peace had been disturbed, she realized that something was wanting in her country and, consequently, sent out her students to study in the West. At first China thought the remedy for her weakness was military science. But gradually she realized that perhaps she could profit more by the political machinery of the West, and so her students took up the study of political science. Then their attention was shifted from political machinery and government to applied science, for the Chinese people have come to think that in that way lies salvation. But at present there are also students studying pure science and philosophy and the number is increasing. Thus the understanding of the West by the Chinese people is a very gradual process and a matter of absorbing interest. It is an approach from facts to ideas, from the part to the whole. The Chinese people have indeed followed the steps to perfection which are laid out by Plato. But this vast amount of intellectual material which has found its way into China has to be cast into the mental furnace of the four hundred million people, and the fusion of the material that is already there with this new material is no mean task and will require much time.

During the first few decades of China's contact with the West, the point on which China wanted to be enlightened was the material side of its civilization. But at the present stage of China's development, increased emphasis is being laid on the cultural side—the sciences and the philosophy of the West. The reason for this deep interest in Western philosophy and sciences is that the Chinese people want to know thoroughly what

is their own. John Stuart Mill says that for the understanding of a civilization it is absolutely necessary to master several languages; and one Chinese scholar has said that he came to know more intimately of the civilization of his own country after he had made a careful study of the Western civilization. The reason is obvious, for the more we are conscious of the existence of others, the more we are conscious of ourselves; and the more we know others, the more do we know ourselves. But the invasion of these new ideas necessarily arouses, in the beginning, the sharpest conflict with the hitherto unshakable beliefs and convictions held by the Chinese people. Coupled with the spirit of Browning's *Grammian*, with the insatiable thirst for knowledge which is so characteristic of scholars of the Renaissance, the Chinese are absorbing Western knowledge too fast. Hence the great friction and the seeming disorder and confusion.

However, as Bertrand Russell says, "Chinese problems are not capable of being satisfactorily settled by a mechanical imposition of order and what we consider good government. Adjustment to new ideas demands a period of chaos, and it is not for the ultimate good of China to shorten this period artificially." Professor Dewey entertains similar opinions in this regard and the judgment of both is perfectly sound. For just as a man must pass a turbulent period in his life before he can attain self-mastery and sweet calm, so must a nation pass a stormy period before it can attain poise and balance. Seeming disquiet and disorder in China is essential to her growth because good and evil are relative, and a good comes only after transcending an evil, which is itself a negation of good. An English philosopher has said: "A man draws

nearer to virtue when he commits a sin. For sin, as the second in time of the two steps, has the advantage over innocence. In passing to sin from innocence the sinner has taken a step on the only road which can lead him to virtue, and morality has gained."

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY

But those people who complain that China has not progressed very far are wrong. For details of China's progress I may refer them to Dr. M. T. Z. Tyau's recently published book entitled, *China Awakened*. But the most conspicuous example is the national unity which China has achieved. The transition of civilization from the family to the national state is the most marked characteristic of the last fifteen years of Chinese public life. China is not, as Russell thinks, less a political entity than a civilization, for China is not only a civilization but also a political entity, which is partly due to the introduction of the political democracy of the West. Professor Seeley, of Cambridge, used to tell his students that nationalism is the key to the civilization of the nineteenth century. He cited the twenty-five German kingdoms uniting to form the German empire, the eight principalities of Italy uniting into the kingdom of Italy, the welding together of the discordant states into the American Union, and the knitting together of the colonies and dependencies of the British Empire as the products of the national ideal operating in the history of the nineteenth century. It is this spirit of patriotism which is lifting the four hundred million of China to that exalted plane in which they are willing to lay down their lives upon the altar of their country. The united front presented by the whole people against the Japanese occupation of Shantung,

the downfall of the powerful Anfu party through the agitation of merchants and students, the suppression of gambling at a loss of \$14,000,000 a year to the treasury of a province and the adoption of the spoken language as the universal language throughout the country—all these are indications of a growing national spirit.

The growth of public opinion in China is another wonderful symptom of political unity. Before the establishment of the Republic the rank and file paid no attention to public affairs. Now their voice is not only heard regarding the important matters in the country but actually heeded by the government. This was seen in the clash between the Anfu and the Chi-li factions last year. It is seen in the influence exercised by the opinion of the people on the Washington Conference.<sup>1</sup>

But, although it is true that nationalism, as Professor Seeley says, is the key to the political history of the nineteenth century, I predict that internationalism will be the key to the political history of the twentieth century and after. Sir Robert Hart, who studied the Chinese for some forty years, believed that the Chinese potential hatred of foreigners constituted a real menace to the human race. He held that some four hundred million people, sturdily and passionately devoted to their ancient customs, might, in time, under the influence of bitter race hatred between the yellow and the white peoples, be changed from a peace-loving community into a warlike people, bent on avenging their wrongs. But the Chinese patriotism and nationalism is not the patriotism and nationalism of the Jingoists and Imperialists. It is not the pooled self-esteem of which Mr. A. Clutton-

<sup>1</sup> Conference on the Limitation of Armament, Washington, D. C., November 11, 1921.

Brock speaks. There is no hatred of foreigners in China and there is with the Chinese no longer any of the racial antipathy and antagonism which is made so much of by the nationalists and the capitalists. Our patriotism is not the patriotism which manifests itself in hatred rather than in love; because false patriotism cannot declare itself for what it is and is, therefore, always negative rather than positive. Our patriotism is the patriotism which is love of something not ourselves, love of our own people and cities and our native fields, and which, being love, does not in the least insist that that which is loved is superior to other things or other people, unloved because unknown.

We know that where there is real affection there is not this rivalry or enmity; no man, because he loves his wife, makes domestically patriotic songs about her; nor does he hate or despise the wives of other men. In true love there is no self-esteem, but rather it increases the capacity for love; it makes the loving husband see the good in all women; and he would as soon boast of his own wife as a religious man would boast of his God! And true patriotism is true love. This true patriotism finds its expression in the impartial and disinterested pursuit of Western learning by the Chinese people, which is so eloquently testified to by Bertrand Russell and Professor John Dewey, the two intellectual ambassadors from Great Britain and the United States of America; it finds its expression in the great emphasis on the regeneration of the spiritual side of China's civilization, which is diametrically opposed to the exclusive devotion of Japan to her material progress and military efficiency. In short, the growth of nationalism and patriotism in China is a blessing to herself and a blessing to the world.

#### LEGAL REFORM IN CHINA

Another example of China's progress is the legal reform affected under the guidance of my colleague Dr. Wang, one of the intellectual leaders of China and one of the delegates to the Washington Conference. As you all know, legal reforms had been carried out to some extent in the last years of the Tsing Dynasty and the codes that were then compiled were modeled after those of Japan. But these codes did not appear to the Republican Government as compatible with the liberal ideas which had gained a strong hold in China. Thus a new commission was formed to revise those codes. The revised codes were printed in 1919 and immediately translated into English and French. While those who codified the provisional codes during the reign of the Manchu Dynasty had been educated in Japan, those who codified the new codes derived their inspiration from the European countries and profited immensely by the recent progress in law. They have borrowed much from the codes of Hungary, of Holland, of Italy, even of Egypt and of Siam, and from the codes of Austria, Switzerland and Germany. But, at the same time, they have had the wisdom not to break with the past, and, in fact, the traditions and customs of the Chinese people are respected in the provisions of the new codes. The cult of ancestral worship is reconciled to the spirit of the new codes and thus the violation of a sepulchre is punishable. Buddhism is tolerated, and parents exercise a considerable influence in the matter of aggravation or attenuation of punishments.

The completeness and excellence of the codes are such that Professor Garcon of the University of Paris, who is one of the most eminent jurists on the Continent, says of one of them:

It seems, in truth, that, without alteration, this code can be adopted by any Occidental people and that any European country can find in this code some useful reforms which can well be introduced into its own laws.

Again, he says:

The number of provisions of the code indicates a profound knowledge, not only of the texts of recent codes, but also of the science of penal laws which the Occidental criminalists have made. It is sufficient for me to say that this code solves questions of unpunishable crimes of real or theoretical recidive. Our French code unfortunately leaves these questions unanswered.

#### FURTHER EVIDENCES OF PROGRESS

But progress is shown also in industry. In the year of 1911, there were only 395 industrial companies owned by Chinese but in the year of 1919, there were 994. Then the method of organization, the technique newly learned from the West, is being improved, as is shown by the existence of the Banker's Association and the Student's Association, which spread throughout the length and breadth of the country.

In education equal advancement has been made. In the year 1911, there were two million people in public schools. In 1920, there were five million. Schools have been more than doubled since then. I shall refrain from mentioning the new universities which have been established and the exhilarating intellectual thirst of the whole people which is so well described by Bertrand Russell. Nor shall I dwell on the freedom of thought which is so vividly brought to the minds of the Western people by the British philosopher.

Of course people will remind me that China still permits many militarists, whose influence, however, is rapidly diminishing. Again, their presence, though temporary, is essential to the final success of democracy. They are like the trials through which a youth has to pass before he can become hardy and attain to real manhood. Did not the same thing happen to France and to America?

Besides, it is to be remembered that besides these militarists are the good governors of different provinces whose beneficent work is well recognized by every foreigner. Such is the Governor of Shansi, Yen Hsi Shan, of whom Miss E. G. Kemp in her book, *Chinese Mettle*, says: "He has accomplished in the last ten years a remarkable change in the entire province—the province which is considerably larger than Great Britain." He has initiated so many necessary reforms which can be followed by the rest of the provinces and he has inspired so many people to great efforts that he has come to acquire the name of the "Model Governor." Another such exemplary governor is General Feng Yu Hsiang, whose good work in Shansi Province is equally remarkable.

Thus, if we take a broad view of the whole situation, the future of China is very bright and the progress she has made is considerable. For progress, it must be borne in mind, is never in a straight line. Vico compares it to a spiral which advances and recedes in turn, but which is ascending and progressing all the time. Macaulay compares progress to the tide where the individual wave seems to retreat from time to time, but the tide is nevertheless making steady advance. This is true of progress in every country and it is no less true of progress in China.